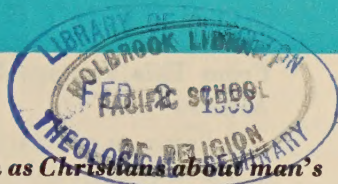


Social



Progress



The bases for our concern as Christians about man's right to freedom within responsibility are found in the Scriptures and in the historical Judaeo-Christian tradition. Legal guarantees of specific rights are contained in state and Federal constitutions and are implemented by laws based on these documents.

Nevertheless, "liberties are only as stout as the will to maintain them." . . . It becomes the duty of churches to be zealous in the protection of the rights and freedoms promised by our religious and political heritage.

—General Assembly Pronouncements, 1955

Civil Liberties and Human Rights

FEBRUARY

1956

Social Progress

Published by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., to provide a forum for the Church on subjects of social concern for Christians. It includes program resources, legislative developments, and guides to worship, study, and action for leaders of social action groups in local churches, presbyteries, synods, presbyterial and synodical societies. Articles represent the opinions of the

authors—not the official policy of the Department of Social Education and Action or of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

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From This Vantage Point...

WITH ONE VOICE

PERSONS of widely diverse theological persuasion can frequently sit down around a table and discuss meaningfully with each other the subject of "human rights." This is witnessed to by the existence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights agreed upon by representatives of 60 countries, Eastern and Western, on December 10 of 1948. The fact that these fundamental rights, such as freedom of speech, peaceful assembly, equality before the law, are universally violated in no way invalidates the common values that men of reason find acceptable, at least in the abstract, simply because they are human beings.

But Christians view from within a unique frame of reference the struggle to secure these rights and make them secure for all men. They know that apart from their own repentance and willingness to forgive their enemies, both of which they see only as gifts of God's grace, they themselves, with other men, actually confound the struggle and make it itself a further cause for violence to human personality. Seldom in the world's history has the need for repentance and forgiveness, coupled with the wisdom Jesus attributed to the serpent, been more necessary than today, as some of the articles in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS will indicate.

—The SEA Staff

Revolution and Reconciliation

Without benefit of heralding trumpets or even many press releases, one of the most significant conferences of this century took place in Athens, Ohio, during the closing days of 1955. To all outside appearances it was the "Ecumenical Student Conference on Christian World Mission," seventeenth in the long series of

Student Volunteer Movement Quadrennial Conferences that have lifted the vision and enthusiasm for service of successive student generations. But there were significant new variations even when familiar old themes were struck in this particular conference. God's judgment and his hand in contemporary history, the reconciling work of Jesus Christ, the mission of the Church in particular corners of the world—in the U.S.A. and in over eighty nations whose citizens joined in the conversation—these claimed the attention of 3,300 students and leaders for the five-day meeting.

The conference was "made" primarily by its composition and its theme. Twelve hundred overseas students, 1,600 American (U.S.A. and Canada) students, 500 leaders from all parts of the world—living, thinking, probing, and praying together as a single community. The focus was "Revolution and Reconciliation." The opportunity for such a diverse company, embodying the tensions of social strife on every continent, to discuss the particulars of a world in revolution without once establishing Communism, or the all too prevalent fear of Communism, as the context for the discussion—this was the miracle God wrought in the middle of the century in a little town in Ohio.

On a given day we might find about 200 Korean and Japanese students engaged in Christian reconciliation, not merely discussing their differences and conflicts; 100 African students—literally tomorrow's leaders of that continent—finding one another and finding a world-wide community of students who shared their deep concern for righteousness and justice and reconciling love in that tremendous and divided land; hundreds of Christian students discovering their own Southern section of the U.S.A. through the eyes, not only of their Negro compatriots on nearby Southern campuses, but also through the eyes of even darker-skinned Christian brothers from all over the world. And having discovered their own land, compacting to see through changes that will be costly but the only possible path for Christian students who were experiencing for the first time the possibilities of God's reconciliation *through* revolutionary change. There were no great resolutions, no easy paper solutions to complex problems, no great platform personalities, no shallow emotion-charged commitments. But there was the hard realism of a generation who have been denied the fanciful flights of youthful idealism. They have experienced, however, that far richer communion unknown to their own parents—the actual single communion of Christ's followers from all over the world living as one repentant and concerned family in the search for his will and his reconciling love.

—Harold H. Viehman, Associate Secretary, Division of Higher Education,
Presbyterian Board of Christian Education

COLLOQUY

on a Library Card

In the Christian's participation in the warfare of the spirit (and of the flesh, if the two could be separated), some of the battles are major ones, but most of them are minor ones. Some of them, by God's grace, are won; but many are lost. Blessed is the man who witnesses victory in the significant battles, and defeat only in the skirmishes. Still more blessed is he who keeps his perspective, and sees the war, whose ultimate victory is assured, rather than the minor encounters, in which his role may be that of an expendable.

Herewith are an account of one of these minor battles, which was lost, and the critical comments of three "armchair lieutenants," who bear the scars of similar engagements. The incident in Trenton, Missouri, described below can hardly be thought of as a cosmic one, but it bears some of the earmarks of a microcosmic one. The broad area is human rights, the issue was civil liberties, and the incident involved a library card. But in this parochial struggle were many of the elements of the more cosmic struggle for human rights, including human sin.

The brief comments of the staff are written in the margin of Mr. Everhart's opening article. The other four articles were written independently from three different points of view, but they all agree on at least one point: Mr. Everhart erred in making it a lone fight.

What would you have done? What are you doing now in the war?

The Battle Is Joined—and Lost

By DONALD C. EVERHART, Minister,
Hodge Presbyterian Church, Trenton, Missouri

JUST out of seminary, I had taken the pastorate of a mission Presbyterian church in a small Mid-western town. While in seminary, I was exposed for the first time to the

idea that churches are to play an active role in social action, that they are to function in their communities, states, and nations as constructive critics and reformers of

the structures of society. I resisted this new thought at first, but gradually came to embrace it, believing that the church had a definite responsibility in promoting social justice.

And so I came to my first field full of enthusiasm. Within a few weeks, I honestly believed I heard my first call to social action. When my wife applied for a borrowing card at the public library, she was asked if she were a property owner. Taken completely by surprise, she responded in the affirmative. The librarian clarified, "Of course, by that we mean, are you a real-estate owner?" Being accustomed to borrowing library books on my own right and under my own name in cities and towns, large and small, having established residence and being identified to the library, I felt that here was a discriminatory practice. I would go to work on it.

From this experience I learned many things. I recalled the counsel of Rev. Don Benedict, one of the organizers of the East Harlem Protestant Parish, who in seminary had influenced me in social action, that this would be true. "In each social action experience," he said, "you will learn many new things. You will be better prepared for the next task. It is a matter of living and learning."

I would like to share a few of the lessons learned from this my first venture into Christian action.

After my wife's experience, I went quickly to the library to ask the details of their loaning policies. Yes, it was true. Only real-estate owners could borrow books on their own responsibility. All others, no

matter if they had been taxpaying and voting residents of the community for years, would have to have a guarantor, naturally a real-estate owner.

This may have been a serious theological error - see comment on p. 18

I asked the librarian if there were ever any objections to this practice. She said that occasionally there had been complaints. People usually gave in, though, when they found nothing could be done about it. A few, mostly schoolteachers, had refused to use the library altogether out of protest. She could not see why I objected. After all, most of my parishioners were real-estate owners. Any of them would be glad to guarantee that I would live up to the library's rules and to underwrite any loss I might cause the library.

"Is the library a private one?" "No, it does have an endowment, but it is also tax-supported." "What is the governing body for the library?" "The school board." "Who is the president of the school board?" I was told. He is one of the prominent doctors of the town.

If possible would it not have been better for the person initially involved to have continued in the ballow-through?

I proceeded to write what I thought to be a courteous letter to the school board president. I stated my objection to the ruling, making it plain I was not requesting an exemption, and respectfully suggesting that the policy be reviewed by the board with a view to possible amendment.

The president responded with an extremely condescending letter, informing me that nothing personal was intended, and that the rule should not be embarrassing. "The rule you referred to," he wrote, "is an old one and so far as I know has been observed since the library was first opened." The rule was designed, he thought, to protect the library from "transient people living in apartments, rooming houses, and hotels in our community." The fact that about half the established residents of the area, who do not happen to be real-estate owners, were likewise included under this ruling, did not seem to occur to him. He also told me that Carnegie libraries follow the same policy, which they do not. He concluded by reminding me that the "good people" of the town had worked hard to build up the library, and he hoped I would use and cherish it as they did. That, for him, settled the question. But it could not for me.

In my second letter, I continued the protest. The effort to control transient borrowing was, indeed, necessary, but should non-real-estate-owning residents, many of long standing, be discriminated against in the process? Was this democratic, or necessary? Could some sort of investigation be made? Could I appear before the board?

If was perhaps still realistic to hope that a letter from an individual might cause a change. Organized action at this point might conceivably have precipitated an unnecessary showdown.

The second reply seemed more encouraging. My two letters and his first reply had been presented to the board. My suggestions for a change in regulations were asked. I was told, however, that the old rule had seemed to cause little inconvenience. In his ten years as president, no such request had come before the school board. One board member had received this complaint from a teacher. The librarian had received only four or five similar objections in that many years. "Most people have simply asked their landlady, friends, or employers to sign their cards and passed the matter up." But it did occur to him that estab-

This marked the end of lone effort as an effective means of social action. Corporate action was definitely indicated from here on.

lished residents here, "people who are expected to pay taxes and who are qualified to vote in this county," should be extended the privilege of receiving a loan card,

providing a limitation on transients could be maintained. He was writing to the state librarian at the state capital for a recommendation.

Well, it looked as if progress would be made. I wrote again, thanking him for his thoughtful consideration of the issue. Acknowledging that I was no authority in library science, I did mention a few of the systems I had seen in successful operation. One was to require a three-day waiting period, so that investigation could be made. Another was to ask proof of legal residence, e.g., rent, tax, or voting receipts. Transients could justifiably be asked to have established residents countersign for them. My only concern was that the facilities of the public, tax-supported library be made available to all citizens of the community on an equal basis. Certainly the ownership and non-ownership of real estate should not create two classes of citizenship in this matter.

However, my optimism proved extremely naïve. A few weeks later the office phone rang one morning. It was the good doctor and school board president. Could I stop by his office shortly? He would like to clear up a few things about the library matter. Yes, I could.

He began by opening a folder, containing his research into the question. A study of the library's history had shown that it did not begin with the real-estate-owning regulation. The original endowment had clearly stipulated that the library was to be free and equal for all citizens of the county. A number of years later, the real-estate-owning requirement had been adopted be-

cause of an influx of transients into the town. This sounded good to me.

The state librarian had responded. Some small libraries still retained the real-estate-owning policy, but increasingly libraries were liberalizing, placing all citizens on a common basis in obtaining borrowing cards. This sounded even better. His two written reactions, that the present system always had been, and that most small libraries did the same, were now answered.

I sat on the edge of my chair, anticipating the announcement that he would recommend a change of policy to the board. Instead, he seemed to change tone. He reminded me again that although the present system seemed unfair to me, it caused little inconvenience. Since so few complaints had come in through the years, why be concerned? Why not leave well enough alone? It was such a little issue. Was I not making a mountain out of a molehill? What study had I made? He had done all this research. I had nothing to show. Why did I not save my ammunition for something big? And, besides, I was so young. How old? Only 26! Why, here he was 60.

It was here that he began to open up and express his real feelings. I allowed him to let it all out. It looked as if I had come to town with a chip on my shoulder. I had been here only a little while and was making a suggestion already. My letters, he felt, were impudent. Here I was coming in and overnight demanding a change in the *status quo* (his term). What right had I to demand anything? I had used too

much of his valuable time on an utterly unimportant matter.

I have seldom seen anyone drop his guard more fully. He was bitter toward me personally. My mere suggestion had been taken as a personal attack upon him. Contempt is the right word to describe his manner and expression.

When I suggested, nevertheless, that I would like to appear before the board with my recommendation, he pulled his last trump. Some of the influential members of my church had been contacted. They had begged that I not be allowed to appear before the board "to make a fool of myself." Surely, I did not want to jeopardize my promising ministry here with such an insignificant matter. Surely I could not move with a third of my session opposed. If I appeared before the board, I would be going hopelessly out on the limb. When I tried to explain that a Christian sometimes has to face risk in working for the right, he appeared uncomprehending. If I knew what was good for me, I would let the matter alone. Of course, he did not want me to feel that I was being beaten down. I should feel free to function in community affairs in the future.

Well, I lost my nerve. I did not know what to do, what to say. It was too much all at once. The president's attack had been not on my suggestion but on me, the old *argumentum ad hominem*. I tried to point this out to him, but he could not see the distinction. Was it quite right to bring my parishioners into it, to threaten economic retaliation? He did not care to consider that. So many emotional factors had been

*Frontal assault
on power frequently
provoke biddist
reaction*

*How about a
trial run under
a new policy of
his devising?*

*Would he
have been willing
to say which
members?*

brought in that I decided to drop the matter. I so stated my intention. I asked if he would sign my library card, be my guarantor. He would, and did.

There are many lessons wrapped up in this experience—more, I am sure, than I can see. The tremendous social resistance to change is here. The *status quo*ists are more concerned with what is than with what ought to be. The suspicion for newcomers in small communities is seen. Is there an underlying contempt of age for youth here?

What else? *Argumentum ad hominem*, McCarthy's infamous technique of arguing against the man instead of the issue, is involved. A ready tendency to take advantage of the fact that a minister, in fact, has many employers. A belief that many pastors will not fight, but always give in. As in my case, the fact that this is too often true. Denial of the idea that a principle is valid even if the issue at stake is small. The presentation

of research material, not to clarify the matter, but seemingly to put an unprepared opponent in a bad light. The assumption of civic boards that they are to rule and not to serve, responsive to community suggestion and criticism.

These lessons, I see. And some of them are important ones. But, what did I do wrong? What to do next? Shall I play safe and keep quiet?

Shall I quit the ministry? Or shall I fight? Can community groups, such as American Association of University Women, Lions, etc., be brought in? How about the Ministerial Alliance? What are the ways to begin public education and/or agitation in such a matter? Should the advice of the American Civil Liberties Union be sought? What would you do?

He Should Have Had a Committee

By FRANK H. HEINZE, *Minister, Wakefield Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, and Chairman of Philadelphia Presbytery's Committee on Social Education and Action*

THERE are many lessons wrapped up in this experience. . . ." Mr. Everhart lifts up ten lessons which he learned in his first social action experience—a remarkable number in view of the fact that the issue at stake was not of world-shaking proportions. Surely, for many of the brethren who will read his article, these are lessons that they have already learned. Most of us have experienced the "tremendous social resistance to change," the "underlying contempt of age for youth"; the "*argumentum ad hominem*"; the "ready tendency to take advantage of the fact that a minister, in fact, has many employers" ("Remember, Reverend, we pay your salary"); and so forth. I suspect, therefore, that there might be a temptation on the part of a few of the older and the wiser of the

brethren to dismiss Mr. Everhart's experience as one which callow youth must undergo in the ministry in dealing with people on any level, notwithstanding the issue which is involved.

Mr. Everhart admits that he made some mistakes. His modesty, I'm sure, prevents him from pointing out the things that he did properly, and he did more than even he might suspect. *He was alert to a social situation in his community for which a remedy was sorely needed.* One cannot help but wonder about the attitude of his ecclesiastical predecessors—even his contemporaries of other denominational persuasions—who took no exception to the discriminatory ruling which existed in the public library in Trenton, Missouri. A few school-teachers objected; several worthy

citizens were aroused to the point that they refused to use the library, but for them, that was the end of the matter.

Along came Mr. Everhart. He did not choose passive resistance. He did not choose to deprive himself or his family of the right to use a community facility provided for the intellectual advancement of the citizenry—first class. He *did* something about it. To his eternal credit, and to the credit of those who had prepared him for the ministry in the Presbyterian Church, he fought a fight that was long overdue. He was alert to a social situation in his community for which a remedy was sorely needed—lesson number eleven. (I have never concerned myself about library practices in my community—have you?) He did something about it—lesson number twelve. He lost—lesson number thirteen.

What should Don Everhart have done that he did not do which might have given him a perfect grade in this social action test? After all, he passed with flying colors until the final grading period. I didn't count them, but I couldn't help noticing the inordinate number of times that Don used the singular pronoun in his description of *his* campaign. Perhaps this was his biggest mistake. Perhaps the reason that it ended in failure was that it was *his* battle alone from beginning to end.

Had the minister of the Hodge Presbyterian Church been thinking as a Presbyterian ought to think, he would not have engaged in battle alone. He should have had a committee. Sometimes I suspect that

we have more committees in the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., than we have constituent members, and I agree on occasion with the wag who said that "a good committee consists of two persons—one of them dead." But where social action is concerned there is wisdom and there is strength in numbers.

When Mr. Everhart spoke, he spoke for himself. This his worthy opponent was quick to realize. He wisely marshaled his forces and came up with some formidable opposition—one third of the session of Hodge Presbyterian. This, as all the clergy who read his story will agree, was the propitious time for the minister to tuck his tail between his legs and take off like a scared rabbit. What would you have done?

He should have had a committee. What, it might well be asked, could a committee have done that the minister alone could not do, except to add weight by numbers? Social action in the Presbyterian Church begins, or ought to begin, with the session. Would there not have been wisdom in bringing the library situation to the attention of the fathers, with the suggestion that at least one member of the session, along with the minister, study the matter with its implications for the church and the community? One of the lasting benefits of such an approach would have been the opportunity for the session to learn something about Presbyterian interest in social problems. Approval of this action by the session would have enabled the minister and his committee to begin to get the facts necessary for a campaign backed by the ruling body of the church.

Following this effort a committee composed of some of the protesting teachers (some of them must have been Presbyterians), and a few of the citizens who refused to use the library (some of them must have been Presbyterians), might have been formed to do further study and to plan an effective strategy for dealing with an obstreperous public official. The backing of an informed session, the facts, and the support of a handful of people alerted to the situation might well have made a success of the effort.

This is what Mr. Everhart might have done had he acted in accordance with good principles of social action. There is no guarantee that the outcome would have been different, but there would have been the important factor of the involvement of people in social action.

What can he do now? I'm sure that he will not forever choose to "play safe and keep quiet," or "quit the ministry." There will be other

causes to champion in Trenton and in other cities and towns like Trenton. There will be other battles to wage; some of them of greater magnitude than the one that has been lost. By accepting a library card, Mr. Everhart has capitulated. Now someone else ought to do something about the library. Maybe the Ministerial Alliance can be roused from the dreary practice of reading weighty papers to a concerted action on a problem that is alive in their midst. Don should be able to guide them even if he can't lead them. Certainly the session of the Hodge Presbyterian Church has a great deal to learn about social education and action. Obviously this is the task of the minister and of the fathers and brethren of presbytery.

Don Everhart doesn't need to learn much now. Experience has been a most profitable teacher. My concern is about you and about myself. What have we learned?

He Should Have Had Artillery

By SPENCER COXE, Executive Director, Philadelphia Branch, American Civil Liberties Union

MR. EVERHART was correct in regarding the library rule as his "call to social action," for the essential elements are present of the classic struggle between the haves and the have-nots, between stupid and entrenched conservatism on one hand and enlightenment on the other, between bureaucracy and

reason. Unfortunately for Mr. Everhart, the prize for which the struggle was waged is nothing more dramatic than a library card. With the stakes so low, it is hard for the protagonist to appear in a heroic or even sympathetic light. This makes Mr. Everhart's task more difficult.

Nonetheless, I think Mr. Everhart did the right thing in making an issue of the rule. If he will fight for equal access to the library, he will fight for bigger things. It is with the display of such spirit that our liberties are won. If more of us erred on the side of making mountains out of molehills, society would be a great deal better off.

Now though it is true that Mr. Everhart's basic decision—to resist—was correct, we must face the fact that he has lost. What lessons and morals are to be drawn from the battle and its outcome?

First (and I speak now as a professional fighter for unpopular causes), I urge Mr. Everhart not to be discouraged. He has achieved something important by issuing a manifesto of nonconformity and waving it in the face of the town's leading stuffed shirt. True, he partially nullified the effect of this feat by later tearing up the manifesto, but it will have a salutary effect on his antagonist to have heard someone say "boo" to him.

Although I have never been to Trenton, Missouri, I can assure Mr. Everhart that many another instance of "Right forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne" will claim his attention and challenge his courage. He will have many more opportunities to display his nonconformist spirit, and to refine his technique of doing so.

This initial failure should spur him on. Nonconformists, trouble-makers, rockers-of-the-boat, and other useful members of society always lose more battles than they win, and Mr. Everhart might as well resign himself to this. Mr. Everhart

is bucking the system (a fact which his antagonist realized before he did), and until he builds up a following in Trenton, he is going to lose most of his battles. My basic advice to him, therefore, is to build up a following.

As I have said, Mr. Everhart, when faced with his most important decision, made the right choice, namely, he decided to make an issue of what he regarded as a matter of principle. Here was a man who wrestled with his conscience and didn't win. I hope that the subsequent tactical suggestions I offer will not be regarded as diminishing the luster of this major achievement.

I think that Mr. Everhart misinterpreted the nature of the clash that he was precipitating. He entered the fray on the assumption that righteousness and good intentions will carry the day against a manifest stupidity. Seldom is this assumption warranted, as it is based upon the hypothesis that men will allow reason and good sense to prevail over self-esteem.

After Mr. Everhart found out that the school board was responsible for the objectionable policy, he should have got a list of the members of the school board, and made inquiries about the people serving on it. He would probably have been warned, had he made such inquiries, what manner of man the chairman was. He then would have approached other members of the school board who he had reason to believe would be more sympathetic, in order to ask their opinion and advice, and to enlist their support. He might have found a few influential townspeople to share his con-

cern, people who would be ready to express themselves if and when necessary. Thus armed with support in the school board and amongst the citizenry, either Mr. Everhart or some better-known citizen on his behalf could have presented the issue at a meeting of the board, or even to the president. The president would then have been unable to threaten and push around Mr. Everhart, and dismiss his request with *ad hominem* arguments.

In short, anyone contemplating a change in the *status quo* should prepare himself to wage a campaign. The heavy artillery need not be deployed at the outset, but should be ready in case of necessity.

Mr. Everhart, as he confesses, was naïve in thinking that he, a single voice, and a newcomer at that, could change a regulation merely by personal representation. In this endeavor, should he decide to prosecute it, or in similar attempts (where the stakes are higher), he will have to mobilize community support.

Possibly some readers will chide me with being Machiavellian. But mind you, please, I am *not* advocat-

ing the use of naked pressure. On the contrary, I thoroughly believe that the library card issue, and any other matter, should be argued *on its merits*, but argued (to borrow an unsavory phrase from the language of *Realpolitik*) from a position of strength. The opponents are then at liberty to be convinced by reason, but, if they choose to be unreasonable, they will have to reckon with the fact that their intransigence is noted and disapproved by some of the People Who Count. Our Lord admonished us to be wise as serpents, as well as gentle as doves. It is the rare laborer in the vineyard who can combine these qualities. The basic decisions about what is right and wrong, and about what is important and unimportant, must be made without reference to expedience. (The weakness of the Christian witness in our world today stems from the fact that they are not.) But once these decisions are made, there is nothing shameful about using all our intelligence and all the worldly strength we can muster consistent with intellectual honesty and good sportsmanship.

He Should Have Educated the Session

By JEAN RUSSELL, *President,
United Church Women, Greeneville, Tennessee*

MR. EVERHART'S moving article should be an eye-opener to all of us who claim that Christ is Lord of all of life if He is Lord at all. For

many of us, it is not a new story. Perhaps the names are different and the specific issue is different, but Mr. Everhart has made few mistakes

that we have not made before him.

As president of a local council of church women (United Church Women, we are called), I would suggest that Mr. Everhart is asking the right questions at the wrong time. Christian social action, as the name implies, involves more than individual witness to the evil of discrimination or injustice. There are instances where one must speak as a lone prophet, but one does not take action in isolation unless one is in this position. Obviously, a person can misjudge a situation and think he can handle it alone, and perhaps this is what Mr. Everhart did. However, the fact that some teachers were not using the library as a protest should have warned him that this was a potentially explosive situation.

Surely it would have been more wise to talk with a few people—particularly other ministers (all of whom probably do not support the *status quo*)—before trying to change the *status quo*. If this inquiry had resulted in no support, it should have resulted in the information that the school board president was a man who might consider any attempt at change to be a personal attack. This Mr. Everhart should have known before he proceeded, rather than after.

Mr. Everhart asks whether community groups can be brought in. He does not mention the church, even though he has accepted the idea that churches are to play an active role in social action. He certainly has a right and obligation to educate (tactfully) his church through his session or proper committee concerning this discrimina-

tory practice in his community. It is unfortunate that he allowed someone else to educate part of his session first.

I assume there is no council of church women in this community. United Church Women believe that there is strength in unity and numbers and that community problems are best solved by united Christian action. In the final analysis, society is people. Rearranging the patterns of society can be done only through rearranging people's patterns of thought. It is our experience that the more people who are involved in initial exploration of situations in which there is discrimination or injustice, the more easily changes can be brought about.

I have mentioned previously Mr. Everhart's failure to anticipate possible outcomes of his action in connection with his individual effort to right a wrong. A natural outcome of a more thorough investigation with more people involved would have been that he would not have been "outresearched" or have had "nothing to show." Too many of us develop a burning desire for justice without realizing the complicated process by which it is obtained. We do not change the *status quo* through emotional outbursts, and any wise attempt at Christian social action will have been preceded by plenty of good hard research. Christian social action in any situation is not a series of haphazard moves, but a carefully-thought-through strategy. This does not mean that we outline a campaign and stick to it no matter what, but rather that we have carefully evaluated the situa-

(Continued on page 18)

THE VOICE OF A FREE PRESS

A New York Times Editorial

The following "declaration of independence" from the editorial page of The New York Times will be of interest to many of our readers. The editorial expresses "concerns" which are the subject of several General Assembly pronouncements.

IN EXECUTIVE hearings held recently in this city, in public hearings held last summer in Washington, and now again in public hearings held in Washington, a Senate subcommittee headed by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi has been looking for evidence of what it considers to be subversive infiltration of the press. A number of employees of this newspaper have been called to appear . . . before the subcommittee.

We do not question the right or the propriety of any investigation of the press by any agency of Congress. The press is not sacrosanct. It is as properly subject to Congressional inquiry as any other institution in American life. It is the inescapable responsibility of Congress, however, to make certain that any such inquiry be conducted in good faith. . . .

The policy of this newspaper regarding the employment of Communist party members has been stated many times, and may be stated here again. We would not knowingly employ a Communist party member in the news or editorial departments of this paper, because we would not trust his ability to report the news objectively or to comment on it honestly, and the discovery of present Communist party membership on the part of such an employee would lead to his immediate dismissal.

In the case of those employees who have testified to some Communist association in the past, or who have pleaded the Fifth Amendment for reasons of their own, it will be our policy to judge each case on its own merits, in the light of each individual's responsibilities in our organization and of the degree to which his relations with this newspaper entitle him to possess our confidence.

We may say this, however. We do not believe in the doctrine of irredeemable sin. We think it possible to atone through good performance for past error, and we have tried to supply the security and the favorable working conditions which should exist in a democracy and which should encourage men who were once misled to reconsider and to reshape their political thinking.

We have judged these men, and we shall continue to judge them, by the quality of their work and by our confidence in their ability to perform

that work satisfactorily. It is our own business to decide whom we shall employ and not employ. We do not propose to hand over that function to the Eastland subcommittee.

Not do we propose to permit the Eastland subcommittee, or any other agency outside this office, to determine in any way the policies of this newspaper. It seems to us quite obvious that the Eastland investigation has been aimed with particular emphasis at *The New York Times*. This is evident from several facts: from the heavy concentration of subpoenas served on employees of this newspaper, from the nature of the examination conducted at earlier hearings by the subcommittee's counsel, Mr. Sourwine, and from that counsel's effort, at those hearings, to demonstrate some connection between a witness's one-time association with the Communist party and the character of the news published in this paper.

It seems to us to be a further obvious conclusion that the *Times* has been singled out for this attack precisely because of the vigor of its opposition to many of the things for which Mr. Eastland, his colleague Mr. Jenner, and the subcommittee's counsel stand—that is, because we have condemned segregation in the Southern schools; because we have challenged the highhanded and abusive methods employed by various Congressional committees; because we have denounced McCarthyism and all its works; because we have attacked the narrow and bigoted restrictions of the McCarran Immigration Act; because we have criticized a “security system” which conceals the accuser from his victim; because we have insisted that the true spirit of American democracy demand a scrupulous respect for the rights of even the lowliest individual. . . .

It is the duty of any member of the Eastland subcommittee, and if further evidence reveals that the real purpose of the present inquiry is to demonstrate that a free newspaper's policies can be swayed by Congressional pressure, then we say to Mr. Eastland and his counsel that they are wasting their time. This newspaper will continue to determine its own policies. It will continue to condemn discrimination, whether in the South or in the North. It will continue to defend civil liberties. It will continue to challenge the unbridled power of governmental authority. It will continue to enlist good will against prejudice and confidence against fear.

We cannot speak unequivocally for the long future. But we can have faith. And our faith is strong that long after Senator Eastland and his present subcommittee are forgotten, long after segregation has lost its final battle in the South, long after all that was known as McCarthyism is a dim, unwelcome memory, long after the last Congressional committee has learned that it cannot tamper successfully with a free press, *The New York Times* will still be speaking for the men who make it, and only for the men who make it, and speaking, without fear or favor, the truth as it sees it.

—*The New York Times*, January 5, 1956. Used by permission.

tion and are able to adapt our strategy in the face of varying opposition.

All of this sounds extremely mechanistic and calculated, which brings me around to what I have questioned most in Mr. Everhart's article. I am aware of the difficulty of judging a person's motivation from a mere recital of events, but I wish that Mr. Everhart had not expressed himself so definitely as hearing a "call to social action." I speak now as a Presbyterian. If either ministers or lay people approach life expecting to find neatly defined areas for social action, is there not the danger of attempting to change society for the sake of changing society? Must we not keep foremost in our minds the fact that society is to be transformed only in order that God's love for his children may be made manifest to the world?

If we spend our lives answering clarion calls to social action, we have missed the point. Social action is an indispensable part of a Christian's life, but it is an *integrated* part of his total response to God's love as manifested in his Son, Jesus Christ. If it is not this, then we are simply social reformers. This criticism may not be applicable in this particular case, but many of us who have been newly grasped by the importance of Christian social action are apt to follow causes rather than Christ.

If Mr. Everhart is at all serious in raising the question of leaving the ministry, then he should do so—

for if he takes seriously the call to "total commitment," he will find himself in equally disturbing situations throughout his life. However, there will be many of us there with him. In his present situation, he would be wise to quietly find out how much support he could get in the community—probably first allowing enough time to elapse for him to become a part of the community. Except in situations that demand immediate action, it is wise to be a part of the community before one attempts to change it. Transformation of society is not an immediate process, just as the formation and solidification of social patterns is not immediate. But because we who are engaged in Christian social action know that the world rests safely in God's hands, we do not despair when we are not immediately successful.

In summary, I would say there are at least three clear principles of Christian social action which Mr. Everhart's dilemma should lead us to see:

1. While Christian social action may be initiated by individuals, we are more effective when we do not work alone. In ethical discourse it is not only what is said that matters, but who says it.
2. Christian social action is complicated and requires clear and careful planning.
3. All our activity as Christians is a response to God's activity—our motivation for social action is not different from our motivation for worship.

By J. OSCAR LEE, *Executive Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches. Excerpts from a Report to the General Board of the National Council of Churches, December 1, 1955*

The Current Situation in the South

AS OF October, 1955, the *Southern School News* reported that "a preliminary tabulation of attendance figures showed that 134,000 Negro children are now attending mixed schools in eight former segregation states and the District of Columbia." This movement, it is reported, involves at least 362 school districts or local systems. In the same report it was stated that "there were no mixed classrooms at the public school level in Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia." A more detailed report indicates movement and an interesting trend.

As of September, 1955, four school districts had been integrated in Arkansas. Despite rising opposition to desegregation in south Delaware the school year of 1955 started with 21 out of 104 public school districts considering themselves desegregated. Limited integration is reported in 10 counties and 4 of the larger cities in Kentucky. Maryland reported at the beginning of the current school year that integration was in effect in 8 counties and Baltimore. This indicates the need for further work in 15 counties. While there is no reported movement toward compli-

ance with the Supreme Court decision in the public schools of Tennessee, the Federally supported school system of Oak Ridge, Tennessee, has integrated Negro pupils at the junior and senior high school levels. More than 60 school districts in western and southern Texas started the school year with some degree of integration. However, the organization of white citizens' councils which has gotten under way in the past few months in Texas is reported to be stiffening the attitude against desegregation in many local communities. Authorities in West Virginia report that all but 10 of the state's 55 counties "began to remove racial distinctions in schools" (*Southern School News*).

On the legal front as of October, 1955, there were 27 cases pending which involved some aspect of segregation in education. Most of them were Federal district court cases, and most of them were aimed at gaining admission for Negro students to all-white schools (*ibid.*).

There are varying attitudes and policies which are expressed by state officials regarding the Supreme Court's decision. They run from compliance with varying degrees of speed through "marking time," the

discovery of legal or technical means to comply with the decision and at the same time to maintain racially segregated schools, to open defiance of the decision.

Virginia furnishes a good example of a state which aims at technical compliance with the Supreme Court's decision but which at the same time is endeavoring to maintain segregated public schools. Recently the Virginia Commission on Public Education (called the Gray Commission) reported to Governor Thomas B. Stanley. Let me quote from the published text of the Commission's Report [taken from *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, November 13, 1955]:

"This Commission believes that separate facilities in our public schools are in the best interest of both races, educationally and otherwise, and that compulsory integration should be resisted by all proper means in our power."

The Commission recommended the enactment of legislation on twelve specific points to buttress and supplement its general recommendations. In connection with the recommendation on one of these points the report states:

"Local school boards should be authorized but not required to maintain public schools for a period of at least nine months. A locality may be confronted with an emergency situation."

The Commission made three general recommendations, two of which are as follows:

"To meet the problem thus created by the Supreme Court, the Commission proposes a plan of assignment which will permit local school boards to assign their pupils in such a manner as will best serve the welfare of

their communities and protect and foster the public schools under their jurisdiction. The Commission further proposes legislation to provide that no child be required to attend a school wherein both white and colored children are taught and that the parents of those children who object to integrated schools or who live in communities wherein no public schools are operated, be given tuition grants for educational purposes."

The third recommendation calls for a constitutional convention to amend the state constitution so as to permit the use of public funds to make tuition grants and other educational payments. The state constitution now prohibits the use of public funds to pay for private schooling. This prohibition was upheld by the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals in a decision rendered on November 7, 1955.

[On January 9, Virginia voters approved the Gray Plan by a ratio of two to one.]

Mississippi is probably an outstanding example of the attitude of defiance of the Supreme Court's decision. It has been the scene of many incidents which are violations of civil rights and civil liberties. The original organization of the White Citizens Council here and the spread of this organization to other states in the deep South are a great concern.

The first meeting of a White Citizens Council is reported as having taken place in Indianola, Sunflower County, Mississippi, on July 11, 1954. It is said that 14 men were present at the meeting. Today it is estimated that there are 300 Councils in Mississippi with about

65,000 dues-paying members and an uncoun­ted number of "allied councils with identical constitutions in Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida" (*New York Daily News*, November 22, 1955).

The purpose of this organization is to maintain racial segregation at all costs. It is using the technique of economic sanctions against those, both Negro and white, who differ with the organization on the segregation issue. Also, it employs techniques of infiltration into local organizations and intimidation. The statements of its leaders indicate the use of social and political pressure to accomplish the ends of the organization.

[On January 30 *The New York Times* reported that delegates from twelve Southern states met in Memphis to form a new national organization designed to co-ordinate the efforts of the numerous groups such as the Citizens Councils to preserve segregation. Calling itself the Federation for Constitutional Government, the new organization will have a speakers' bureau and a research department, and will send printed materials to all local groups subscribing to its purposes. Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi addressed the group, and, with Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia, was elected to a 100-member executive committee. John U. Barr, an industrialist from New Orleans, is giving up his other work to devote full time as chairman of the executive committee.—*The Editors.*]

Economic sanctions have been di-

rected against Negroes who are active in the movement for the integration of the public schools and who insist upon exercising the right to vote. They have been discharged from jobs. The banks have foreclosed on mortgages and withdrawn credit. Some distributors have refused to supply Negro merchants. Negroes have been threatened with the loss of jobs if they patronize businesses run by other Negroes who are active in the movement for integration or for voting. White persons are told not to patronize the businesses of such Negroes. Many of these cases have been reported in the press and the staff of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations has been told of others. However, let me quote from an article written by Murray Kempton of the *New York Post*:

"Last August 6, in Yazoo City, Mississippi, 53 Negroes petitioned the local Board of Education to admit their children to the white school. Ten days later, the *Yazoo Herald* published a paid advertisement listing . . . the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of every one of the signers. At the bottom ran the credit line: 'Published as a public service by the Citizens Council of Yazoo City.'

"Last night, two of those signers . . . told what had happened to them and the other 51 persons on the petition. . . .

"Jasper Mims, treasurer of the N.A.A.C.P., has been a carpenter for 30 years; before his name appeared in the *Herald*, he used to earn \$150.00 in a good week. [Mr. Mims said:] 'I haven't had a call for work since.' Hoover Harvey was

a plumber with a largely white practice. It is all gone now, and he is down to \$20.00 a week. Both of them took their names off the petition, but it did them no good.

"Their petition still lies in the Board of Education headquarters; only two signatures are left, and they belong to people who have left the county for good." [The New York Post, November 11, 1955.]

White people and even the churches are subject to this pressure. An example of this is the meeting called at Tchula, Holmes County, Mississippi, to run Eugene Cox and Dr. David Minter of the New Providence Farm out of the county because they were "suspected integrationists." Although the White Citizens Council disclaims responsibility for calling the meeting, the chairman of the Tchula White Citizens Council, State Representative J. P. Love, is reported to have presided at the meeting. Rev. Marsh M. Callaway, pastor of the Presbyterian Church at nearby Durant, is reported to have stood up in the meeting and denounced it as "unchristian and un-American." Later he was forced to resign his pastorate because he had denounced the meeting.

Most of the church groups in the South have passed statements supporting the Supreme Court's decision and they are standing by these statements. However, there are evidences that the White Citizens Councils are bringing pressure to bear on local churches and ministers. A few ministers seem to support the position taken by the Councils. Some laymen are members and

even leaders of the movement. Other laymen holding positions of responsibility in the churches are under pressure from the Councils to stop ministers, church people, and the churches from taking positions against segregation.

On the other hand it must be said there are ministers, church people, newspaper editors, and community leaders even in Mississippi who are valiantly resisting this movement.

At this point it may be well to call attention to some of the other ministers who have lost their pulpits because of the segregation in the schools issue. They are: Rev. Roy C. Delamotte of Mississippi; Rev. Ed. Jones of near Parkin, Arkansas; Rev. C. Jackson Stafford of Batesburg, South Carolina; Rev. Robert Trotman of Terrell County, Georgia; Rev. J. A. Delaine of Lake City, South Carolina. Rev. J. A. Delaine, an African Methodist Episcopal minister, had his church burned. He fled to New York City after having his home fired upon and is now facing extradition proceedings in New York on a South Carolina writ for having returned the shots of those who fired upon his home. [Incidents documented in several newspapers.]

Returning to the Mississippi situation, . . . the kidnapping and murder of Emmett Till on August 28, 1955, served to focus national attention on the violence that is occurring in that state. In the trial of the men accused of murdering Till, the all-white jury rendered a verdict of "not guilty." It should be pointed out that only voters may serve on juries. The 19,000 Negroes

in Tallahatchie County, where the murder trial took place, are not permitted to vote. The same two men were brought before the grand jury in Leflore County for the kidnapping of Emmett Till. The atmosphere in Leflore County was such that the grand jury would not indict even though it is reported that the sheriff testified in the murder trial that the two men, Milam and Bryant, had admitted that they had taken the Till boy from his uncle's cabin.

The N.A.A.C.P. lawyers have consulted the Department of Justice regarding the Emmett Till case. However, there appear to be no clear grounds for Federal intervention.

The General Board resolution of October 9, 1955, regarding the situation in Mississippi mentions recommendations to be brought to the Board. In a statement adopted on May 19, 1954, this Board stated that "The decision [on segregation in public schools] is a milestone in the achievement of human rights, another evidence of the endeavor to respect the dignity and worth of all men." Also the Board pointed out that "to put the decision into effect will test the good will and discipline of people in many communities."

When people act as though they have forgotten the democratic and religious heritage upon which the nation is founded, the churches must exercise moral persuasion in the interest of obedience of the law and they must insist upon the use of democratic processes for achieving social change. They should work to assure continuance of the public schools in those areas which

threaten to discontinue them. A universal common education is necessary for the continued growth of our democratic heritage and for the freedom to choose and to practice one's religion. The churches must speak out against the use of economic sanctions to accomplish thought control, as a threat to the freedom of thought, expression, and action.

It has been suggested in a number of quarters that an appeal be made to the United States Attorney General to put the White Citizens Councils on the subversive list as a conspiracy to deprive American citizens of civil liberties, civil rights, and the right to earn a livelihood. Although many questions may be raised about the wisdom of this proposal, its value at this point is to highlight the threat of the White Citizens Councils to our way of life. Also, the present situation points up the need for a way of achieving positive action when law enforcement breaks down in states and local communities or when they fail to enforce the law with equal protection for all citizens. This indicates the need for Federal legislation to outlaw mob violence and lynching and to obtain more adequate law enforcement with equal protection for all citizens. . . .

Possibly there is no better way to conclude than to report that the reaction of the foreign press to the verdict in the Till murder case was one of universal and unqualified condemnation. Obviously the verdict furnished ammunition for the enemies of freedom to use against the nation as it attempts to work against the oppression of peoples in other parts of the world.

...Worship.....

"FOR FREEDOM . . . SET US FREE"

Call to Worship

"Come, let us return to the Lord; for he has torn, that he may heal us; he has stricken, and he will bind us up. After two days he will revive us; on the third day he will raise us up, that we may live before him." (Hosea 6: 1, 2.)

Hymn: "The God of Abraham Praise" (Tune: Yigdal)

Prayer of Confession

Forgive again, O God, Father Almighty, the faithlessness which makes us anxious for little securities. Forgive, O Lord Jesus Christ, the disobedience which has given us to oppression. Forgive, O Holy Spirit, the idolatry which has surrendered us to lies and duplicity.

O Thou, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one God everlasting, inflect against our hearts to thee, that yoked to thy reconciling work and speaking thee truth in love, we, and all the peoples of the earth, may be free. Amen.

Hymn: "Come, Labor On" (Tune: Ora Labora)

A Litany of the Times

—in behalf of persons

Item

"While no one anticipated any other action, Central Mississippi Presbytery voted to dissolve the pastoral relations of Marsh M. Callaway and the Durant congregation. . . Mr. Callaway said he was being 'kicked out' because he challenged the procedure at Tchula . . which requested two white men to leave Holmes County on the basis . . that they favored integration of the races."—Presbyterian Outlook, December 12, 1955

Scripture: Amos 7: 1-15

Prayer

While anyone suffers for speaking his mind, for upholding human rights, for defending civil liberties, make us, O Lord, uneasy in our in-

offensive places. Grant us the courage and compassion to befriend all those cast out and under persecution, that in the fellowship of their suffering we may be healed.

—in behalf of free institutions

Item

"Many changes were made in the new Girl Scout handbook to eliminate United Nations and 'internationalist' references. . . . Attacks on the references originated with . . . a former Florida telecaster. . . . The Scouts also removed such phrases as 'service is your way of making this a better world in which to live.'"—The New York Times, December 28, 1954

Scripture: I John 3: 16-24

Prayer

O Thou who hast called us from darkness into light, from condemnation to confidence, endue us with such love for men that we will never be ashamed to pour ourselves out to the world, as Christ's blood was poured out for us. Let every good instrument and agency be turned to thy use, and give us the heart to defend them.

—in behalf of oppressed peoples

Item

"Public gatherings in Johannesburg and the neighboring town of Roodepoort were banned today by the National Government . . . taken as a precautionary measure in connection with the planned removal Saturday of Negro families from their homes in Sophiatown. . . . Patrick Duncan . . . son of a former governor general of South Africa, vowed to 'stand shoulder to shoulder' with any natives who decided not to move."—The New York Times, February 8, 1955

Scripture: Acts 10: 9-16, 23b-29

Prayer

From all prejudice and race hatred, from forced servitude and genocide, from all exploitation and tyranny, save thy peoples, Lord! And grant us, who call Christ the Lord, to stand shoulder to shoulder with those who writhe for deliverance in every corner of the world. In his name we pray. Amen.

Hymn: "For All the Saints Who from Their Labors Rest" (Tune: Sine Nomine)

Benediction

—Prepared by Rev. Gayraud Wilmore, of the staff of the Department of Social Education and Action



UN NEWS NOTES

It is heartening to realize that the tenth anniversary of the UN was so widely celebrated. Eighty states and territories report observance of the day. Some of them, notably Japan, Germany, and Italy, were not member states. While the celebrations take many different forms, rededication to UN principles seems universal. Recognition of the day and its importance are shown through messages by heads of state, proclamations of UN Day as a holiday, official receptions, religious observances, parades and pageants, issuance of special stamps, film festivals, art shows, poster contests, adoption of special projects in another country. Music, because of its universal language, has been widely used in programs—poems and hymns dedicated to the UN. Schools and radio and television stations have participated significantly in many observances.

The Trusteeship Council was the only major council or arm of the UN meeting in New York at the time of the San Francisco Commemorative Conference. The chairman, Mason Sears, of the U.S.A., said: "The UN ten years ago launched the most widespread and sustained effort in history in the interests of international har-

mony. . . . Unprecedented advances have been made in the affairs of dependent peoples throughout Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. . . . Six hundred million have graduated from colonies into sovereign nations. The task of the Council is to continue to assist peoples and governments in their progress toward economic vitality and self-government or independence."

Among the specialized agencies marking the tenth anniversary, the World Health Organization reported on "The Role of Health in Guaranteeing a Secure World." Beginning in 1948 with 26 members, it has grown to a membership of 81 and 3 associate members. It has six regional offices—Pan American Sanitary Bureau in Washington for the Americas; Geneva for Europe; Alexandria for Eastern Mediterranean; Delhi for Southeast Asia; Manila for Western Pacific; Brazzaville for Africa south of the equator. While there have been notable achievements in control of disease—malaria, tuberculosis, yaws—the development of public health services and the granting of fellowships for specialized training is of equal importance. In 1954, 667 fellowships were awarded. The UN accepts the fact that as long as millions of peo-

ple are unable to satisfy their elementary needs such as food, health, and education, peace and security will not come.

Mrs. Georgette Ciselet of Belgium presided over one of the most interesting and significant meetings during the Assembly period in October—the pledging conference for the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance. This is the time when the various countries announce their contributions for the year. Mrs. Ciselet is a lawyer and writer on legal subjects and has represented Belgium on the Economic and Social Council and in the General Assembly. Sixty-one countries pledged \$28,031,536—23 increased their pledges; two new countries, Spain and Rumania, pledged; Cuba renewed her pledge which had lapsed. Since 1950, 1,480 experts have been drawn from 66 countries. Requests already made would indicate a need for 500 new experts in 1956. It was thrilling to hear the testimony to the value of the program given by many representatives—Ukraine, Haiti, Iraq, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Australia, Indonesia, Latin America, Pakistan, and others.

The report to the Assembly on achievements of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights showed real progress. Studies on discrimination in education showed that minorities, especially women, have been given better opportunity. Twenty-two countries have ratified the convention giving political rights to women. Fifteen states have agreed

to give refugees fuller rights, equaling those given to most favored foreigners. The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms came into force with the signature of Turkey, the tenth to ratify. It guarantees the right of property, the right to education and the right of parents to insure education for their children in conformity with their religions and philosophical connections, and the right of free elections by secret ballot. The European Convention has established a body to receive and act on petitions concerning violations. Eighty such petitions have been acted upon to date. The Tenth Conference of the Organization of American States took measures to adjust their domestic legislation in accord with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Austria has undertaken to assure all persons under its jurisdiction the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Norway has supplemented its Constitution by adding articles giving everyone the right to work. Colombia, Honduras, and Peru are granting political rights to women. This summary is inadequate, but shows the influence of the Universal Declaration.

The admission of sixteen new member states will give a new interest at the Assembly and Council meetings. The new delegates will be watched in the hope that they may strengthen the unity of purpose in carrying out the aims of the Charter and make universal membership seem more important.

—Mabel Head
UN observer

Citizenship



Election-year overtones dominate the Washington scene as the second session of the 84th Congress gets under way. Chief among these is the overriding question, will the President run again? The answer may well determine the character and extent of much of the legislation to be enacted during the session.

The President's State of the Union message was generally well received. As was to be expected, there were the usual partisan appraisals on both sides. Admitting the political persuasiveness of the message, the Democrats accused the President of "stealing their stuff."

Many important issues of far-reaching significance will be before the Congress for action during the coming months. Never has it been more imperative that partisan political advantage somehow be sublimated in the interests of the general good, both at home and abroad.

Federal Aid to Education—On January 12 the President sent to Congress his long-awaited special message on Federal funds for aid to public schools.

He reiterated his position that fundamental "responsibility for public education rests with the states and the local community." But he went on to state that the Federal Government "can and should help with certain problems of nation-wide scope and concern when states and communities—acting independently—cannot solve the full problem or solve

it rapidly enough." He stressed the point, however, that once the present shortage or emergency is overcome "the Federal grant program can and must terminate."

The President's program provides for: Federal grants amounting to \$2.25 billion over a period of five years to help states and communities build 470,000 new classrooms; a five-year Federal program of buying local school construction bonds when private buyers at reasonable rates are not available; continuation of the school construction program in areas where Federal activities are responsible for an excessive burden on the schools; a major increase for a research program, and appointment of a committee of educators and laymen to explore needs in the field of higher education.

The plan provides that the Federal grants be made on a matching basis and on a formula which would provide relatively larger amounts for the poorer states. A bill presently being considered in the House provides that school-aid funds be apportioned simply on the basis of the number of school-age children in a state irrespective of the state's financial ability to meet the need. There is enough similarity between this bill and the President's proposals to lead to the hope that a satisfactory compromise can be evolved.

The President's full support of an aid-to-education program will greatly increase the possibility of enactment of such legislation in this session of Congress. However, Con-

gressman Powell's (D., N.Y.) announced intention to seek an amendment barring payment of school-aid funds to states maintaining segregated schools may well kill the legislation. It might conceivably get through the House, but Southern members in the Senate could be expected to stop it there by a filibuster.

Foreign Aid Program—Another important program outlined in the President's State of the Union message was that for long-range foreign economic aid. Admittedly, this will have tough sledding in Congress.

The whole subject is very unpopular on both sides of the aisle. Influential Democrats, along with many Republicans, are in open opposition at the moment, especially to the "long-range" feature. As we go to press, Senator George (D., Ga.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Sen. Knowland (R., Calif.), Senate Republican leader, are teamed together in opposing the program, while Congressman Richards (D., S.C.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, is supporting the Administration on the issue.

The bipartisan U.S. delegation to the UN Assembly has released a strong statement in support of a vigorous program of foreign economic assistance to meet the new Soviet threat. They emphasize that we must meet this challenge "not by outbidding Communism in sheer amounts of economic aid, but by making newly independent and newly articulate peoples feel that they can best satisfy their wants by becoming and remaining part of the community of free nations."

Providing for this type of assistance on a long-range basis would seem to have much to commend it. It would permit "larger projects of permanent value," it would assure continuity, and it would preclude the yearly battle in Congress which always precedes authorization for such programs and damages our prestige and relations with the recipient countries.

From all indications the Administration will have to use every means at its command to secure the adoption of this legislation. Some way must be found to present this program in its true light, for what *The Washington Post* terms "an investment in the well-being of people who are important to us."

"Depressed Areas" Bill—The Administration's program to aid the nation's depressed areas is incorporated in a bill introduced early in January by Senator Alexander Smith (R., N.J.) and twenty other Republican senators. Proposals in the bill include: a \$50 million revolving loan fund to help financial industrial development projects with state or local participation; \$1½ million a year for technical assistance grants to attack the problem of economic development in "areas of substantial and persistent unemployment"; establishment of an Area Assistance Administration to co-ordinate the program with other projects such as housing development.

Senator Smith emphasized that the program "is not a handout"—it is designed to "help low employment communities help themselves."

—Helen Lineweaver
Washington Office

About Books

The People Act, by Elmore M. McKee. Foreword by Milton S. Eisenhower. Harper & Brothers, 1955. 269 pp. \$3.50.

The Ragged Edge, The Diary of a Crisis, by Marquis Childs. Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955. 251 pp. \$3.50.

A Democrat Looks at His Party, by Dean Acheson. Harper & Brothers, 1955. 199 pp. \$3.00.

Here are three books which many ministers and other church leaders will find interesting and useful.

The first of them, *The People Act*, by Elmore McKee, is the vivid account of how the people of eleven American communities faced and solved their problems. A town in North Carolina needed a hospital. In a Virginia community the fight was for better schools. The Baltimore story has to do with a ten-year struggle for decent housing. In Gary, Indiana, the citizens mobilized for a fight against crime. The people of a racially mixed neighborhood in Seattle broke down the barriers. A Kansas town adopted a French village and learned something about international relations. The thirty-three families of a tiny Texas village discovered a new basis for life and saved their community.

The author, Mr. McKee, was the originator in 1951 of the radio program "The People Act"—a series of

broadcasts over the major networks. The stories in this book were developed from the authentic materials gathered for these award-winning radio programs. Mr. McKee is the former rector of St. George's Church in New York and after the war served with the American Friends Service Committee in Germany.

The second book, Marquis Childs's *The Ragged Edge*, is the personal account of the important people and events of the difficult months of 1954 which included the Big Four foreign ministers' conference in Geneva and the repudiation by the French parliament of the European Defense Community. The account is written by one of America's best-known journalists who is also a highly regarded churchman. This was the year of Dienbienphu and of the notorious Army-McCarthy hearings in Washington, both of which had serious repercussions in Europe and profoundly affected political developments. Mr. Childs gives the background to both the EDC fiasco and the Geneva Conference, and to the situation as a whole in the West, through interviews with the "makers and shakers" of European policies. His account is vital, exciting, and often amusing. Reading the book is to understand better the present political situation on the Continent.

The third book we would like to call to your attention is Dean Acheson's vigorous and instructive book *A Democrat Looks at His Party*. Here is the frank personal explanation of a statesman's political faith.

Mr. Acheson was asked how an intelligent and experienced man could be a Democrat. His answer is this book. It is, he said, "not an apology, nor a party pamphlet, nor a history. Rather it draws from personal and public experience, remote and current, some general ideas which might explain why a man gave, and continued to give, his loyalty to the Democratic party, something of the nature of the party itself, of what it has achieved in the course of its long history, and of what it must still achieve if, in our political folklore, it is to continue to be called, 'Old Indestructible.'"

The book sets forth the fundamental characteristics not only of the Democratic party but also of the Republican party, including both good and bad features. He then presents with informality and humor his reasons for being a Democrat. In so doing he discusses many pertinent political questions which affect the outlook of all of us.

We commend this book not at all because of what it says in support of the Democratic party, but because of the solid interpretation it presents of the political traditions, both Republican and Democratic, of our country. The book includes many brilliant insights into American social and political issues. He closes with these words: "These are years of decision which will not come again. The need is for doers of the word and not hearers only."

—C. E.

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- ♦ Bible study and the church's work with families in the church school



THE ANNOUNCER

Every year the National Council of Churches issues a statement to be read on Race Relations Sunday to the local congregations of its constituent members. The following is an excerpt from the statement for February 12, 1956, "Christ's Challenge—The Church with an Open Door."

What will shake us out of the complacency that allows us in our churches and in our nation to go on treating people as inferior to us on account of such irrelevancies as color of skin or form of feature or accent of speech?

Although the demands of the times force us to adjust our racial practices, rational arguments as such seem to move us little. We know that intelligence is not dependent on racial heritage. We know the individual's creative powers are not the monopoly of any race. We know these things in our minds but we do not act according to our knowledge.

It is still true, I think, that God is inclined to overlook in churches and peoples their "times of ignorance." But these are past. Does he not now command "all men everywhere to repent" of their sinful and irrational acts and attitudes toward people of other races? Yes, "he has fixed a day on which he will judge the world in righteousness" and the standard by which he will judge us is Jesus Christ whom he has raised from the dead.

—Eugene Carson Blake, President, National Council of Churches